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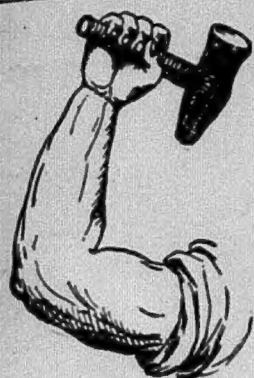
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VOL. IX.—NO. 27.

HENRY KUHN, Nat'l Sec'y, S. L. P.

NEW YORK, OCTOBER 1, 1899.

PRICE 2 CENTS.



Massachusetts State Ticket.

Governor:
GEORGE R. PEARE,
of Lynn.
Lieutenant Governor:
JAMES F. STEVENS,
of Boston.
Secretary of State:
FRANK McDONALD,
of Stoneham.
Treasurer and Recording General:
FREDERICK E. NAGLER,
of Springfield.
Auditor:
FRANK ALBIN FORSSTROM,
of Worcester.
Attorney General:
WALTER P. J. SKAHAN,
of New Bedford.

WORCESTER, MASS., Sep. 25.—The Socialist Labor Party of this State made history to-day. It met in convention in this city to nominate a State ticket for the pending campaign. This was not the first State Convention of the Party, held for the purpose; but it was the first one held wholly under the election laws of the State, the Party having polled last year the necessary three per cent. vote to bring it within the operation of these laws. This fact, coupled with this other, the severe class struggle that raged within the Party during the last months, lent a special importance, and it was thought to attach some danger to the occasion. The middle-class elements (represented in New York by the "Volkszeitung crowd") that sought to assert themselves within the Party, dominate it, and, if need be, break it down, could not yet this year be eliminated from participation in the Party's caucuses here. In this respect the Massachusetts election laws placed the Party at a disadvantage. Expunged from the Party organization, these middle-class elements clung to their rights under the law; they gathered to themselves the unclean freak element and the still uncleaner labor fakir element, and held caucuses wherever possible. They knew their numbers were too small to control the convention lawfully; they prepared to control it fraudulently. A job lot of "delegates" from Springfield and Westfield, with a local pettifogger, Clarence Spellman, as hushman and pace-setter, turned up, ready to "do" the convention. The convention "did" them. The alertness of the Committee on Credentials detected the contemplated fraud; it recommended that, as the names of the delegates were read off, they should step forward, and take their seats. This measure uncovered the neat batch that meant to get in under false names and other fraudulent practices. The rigidity of the Chairman—Joseph Malloney, of Lynn—did the rest. The kangaroos, numbered down to 17, out of a total of 6 delegates, found "life not worth living." Seeing all their attempts at obstruction and at creating confusion wrecked; realizing from the temper of the convention that they would soon be put out physically, UNDER THE LAW, for disorderly conduct and as obstructors of a political State convention, the sanctity of which the State laws guaranteed, they did the final kangaroo act—they leaped out. With their bolt these gentlemen leaped out of history, into darkness.

But not even at this last act in the tragic-comic farce of its short career did kangaroism in Massachusetts neglect to help illustrate the correctness of the Socialist principle that brands it, here as everywhere else, unfit for, unworthy of, standing room within the ranks of the Socialist movement of the land. One of the seventeen bolters was one August Lehman. This worthy was elected in Holyoke, where he is a member of the Party. Both the sections of Holyoke have upheld the National Executive Committee, and emphatically repudiated kangaroism. The conduct of August Lehman was, accordingly, an immoral one: it was a direct violation of the tacit mandate of his organization. And what drove him to such an act? The private material interests. As the printer of a wild-cat paper that claims to be Socialist, but was repudiated by the Party membership in this State—the Springfield "Proletarian"—he is a creditor of that paper to a no small amount. "The Proletarian," as all such vulgar publications, hangs by a thread. August Lehman's interests in that paper being, accordingly, from the same source: That thread being kangaroism, he is a Kangaroo, whatever his party organization may be. Material interests shape the morals of man. Where such interests are vulgar, the "morals" must be mean.

As the Kangaroos leaped, their leap was accelerated by a motion. The "PEOPLE," being in town upon the invitation of the State Committee, and as a representative of the National Executive Committee, a motion was put and promptly carried that a committee be appointed to call upon him at the Lincoln House, where he was stopping, and invite him in the name of the Convention of the Socialist Labor Party of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to a seat on the platform. His appearance on the floor was the signal for a wild scene of enthusiasm in which

rousing cheers for the Socialist Labor Party rose above the din. The comrade made a short address on the significance of the clean-cut work that the convention had performed, and the purifying power of the class-conscious political fire in which all freakism, bungling and corruption, like kangaroism, was bound to be speedily consumed, as speedily and completely as straws in a furnace.

Other speeches were made by several delegates, the convention proceeded with the business before it of nominating a State ticket, adopting a platform and resolutions, and making other provisions for the future internal management of the Party. The most important of these are given below.

It was 8.45 p.m. when the bang of the Chairman's gavel announced the adjournment of the convention sine die, and this convention of the Socialist Labor Party—a body composed of delegates that are the cream of the Massachusetts brain and brawn, superior in all essentials to any that any of the several other parties can gather—passed into history.

The convention days lasted virtually three days. The sessions were opened on Saturday evening, the 23d, at Horticultural Hall (the hall of the convention) by an address by Daniel De Leon on "Order with Progress, Progress with Order," with Martha Moore Avery as presiding officer. The address was taken stenographically, and will be printed in pamphlet form.

The following day, Sunday the 24th, was taken up until a late hour in the night by a conference of delegates from Party organizations to map out the work of the convention, and consider matters of internal concern.

At the morning session of this conference an incident occurred that was not on the programme. Mr. Hillquit, of the "Volkszeitung" party, asked for admission to challenge Comrade De Leon to a debate on the issues in the Party. The challenge had been extended the night previous at the meeting in Horticultural Hall, and Comrade De Leon, then and there, running rapidly over the unclean career of Mr. Hillquit in the New York labor movement, at the time when the fellow called himself Hilkwitz, pointed to the fishiness of a challenge to take place 140 miles from the town where the challenger and the challenged both lived, where the challenger was best known, where the living witnesses of his past betrayals of the working class could be easily produced, and where all this time the now "challenger" did not dare to utter any such challenge. For these reasons—the manifest dishonesty of the challenge, and the challenger being convicted of having betrayed the working class—the comrade declined to debate with such a person. This answer was received with emphatic applause, underscored by the hisses of a few straggling Kangaroos in the audience.

When the next morning the same application was made at the conference of the Party delegates, the sentiment was to refuse the request, as it was a waste of time to "fire more shot into a dead duck." Comrade De Leon's opinion being asked, he said, that he would positively not "debate" with the applicant for the reasons already given; nevertheless, as Mr. Hillquit was recently expelled from the Party for treason, the conference might admit him before its bar. In that case the comrade would place before the conference the reasons for Mr. Hillquit's expulsion, and the evidences of his "party's" usurpation; that would not take more than ten minutes; Mr. Hillquit could then answer with twenty; and the comrade would close with ten minutes, if needed. This view prevailed, and Mr. Hillquit was allowed inside, and told the conditions.

De Leon, with the constitution in his hands, and quoting from it proved, from admitted facts, that at every step the Kangaroos had violated their pledge: they started with a fraud by calling a bogus City General Committee; they proceeded from that to violate the constitution, then they resorted to violence, and, to that day, they had not yet issued a call to the whole Party for a referendum vote upon the justice of their act.

Mr. Hillquit started to speak; he was requested to move to the other end of the hall; when he got there he was startled to see that a stenographer had been placed there to take him down; he was visibly disconcerted, and asked, "Why a stenographer?" A voice answered, "Because we know whom we got to deal with." Mr. Hillquit felt himself caught tight; he could not there say one thing, and afterwards claim he had said another, as is his custom; moreover, being held to answer the points in the charge he had to abandon what was evidently his plan, the bringing in of irrelevant matter that would confuse his "argument" may be condensed in the words that De Leon summed it up with in his closing ten minutes. He said:

"I don't need ten minutes. The gist of the gentleman's argument was that the constitution of the Party is very lax in many respects, THEREFORE we must deliberately go about to make it laxer even in those clauses that are perfectly tight."

The applause of the conference showed absolute unanimity in rejecting the pettifogging argument and falsifications of Mr. Hillquit. He was told to leave the hall; he tried to speak some more, but the body indignantly drowned his voice, and, sputtering maledictions, he took his leave thoroughly thrashed.

Preamble and Platform.

We, the Socialist Labor Party of Massachusetts, in convention assembled this day, September 25, 1899, at Worcester, re-affirm our allegiance to the Principles and to the Platform adopted

at the National Convention in New York, July 9, 1896.

Knowledge, not authority, is the only adequate basis for political action.

Socialists affirm, as the central truth, the organic unity of society.

All political relations of the past have been subject to continual change consequent upon economic development.

When reduced to order, historic conditions present to view three great epochs in human society, each epoch based upon and correctly manifested by the methods of wealth production extant, with its accompanying social class relations and distinctions.

First, slave labor. The slave belonged to the master, therefore the production of the slave labor belonged to the master.

Second, the factory period, with its hand tools and its horse power. The free artisan owned his product because he owned his tools.

Third, the system of modern industry with its capitalist kings, its wage-slaves and its scientific mechanism.

Complex electric machines, tended by wage-slaves, and owned by capitalists, organized into gigantic trusts, is putting an end to competition among capitalists and making it fiercer among workmen. A chain of activity is set up that binds men of different crafts and of minute subdivisions of different crafts throughout the world, to the performance of a single task, the production of a single piece of merchandise.

Capital is a social power. The capitalist must control the legislative, the judiciary and the military divisions of power, the government, to gain, to sustain and to advance private control of social wealth.

Wage-slaves on massed get the value of their only merchandise, labor-power, when it is sold in the labor-market. The most valuable the highest wage and the least valuable the lowest wage. It costs society more to produce a genius than to produce a common laborer; just as it costs nature a higher rate of intensity to produce a diamond than to produce a pebble. Workmen of Massachusetts are citizens! The servile and monstrous conditions of producing untold wealth for the capitalist class while women and children perish with hunger and men languish with idleness, and while the rich riot in luxury and fester with crime, must be overturned.

Gratitude to our forefathers who stamped the glory of citizenship upon the brow of Americans; Love to our families; Justice to our Commonwealth demands that we, the working class, become the ruling class. The fourth great epoch in industry will then be established, an end will be put to economic class distinctions—Democracy in industry and democracy in politics will be secure.

Workmen in this election, as the century turns a new page, we call upon each and all who declare for liberty of mind, equality of opportunity and fraternity in spirit and in action to line up with the voters of the Socialist Labor Party at the polls for the establishment of the co-operative Commonwealth.

Special National Convention.

WHEREAS, The infamous and deep-laid conspiracy of the Socialist Co-operative Publishing Association, engineered by Tammany Hall corruptionists and small traders, has been effectively dealt with by the Socialist Labor Party through its National Executive Committee, and

WHEREAS, Certain sections of the Party are now calling for a referendum vote on a proposition which would in the opinion of this conference, if carried, be productive of no good results, and would in effect be an admission that further action was necessary, thereby tending to magnify the importance of an affair which is now a matter of history and would moreover only serve to cripple the financial resources of the Party, which in view of the coming elections would be a suicidal policy and practically playing into the hands of the band of conspirators now happily outside the party ranks, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That we recommend the various sections in this State to defeat the San Francisco resolution in favor of holding a National Convention of the Party before the regular National Convention of 1900.

On State Organizer.

AND WHEREAS, In the opinion of this conference the condition of the Party demands that the work of organization be advanced and sustained by keeping an organizer in the field, be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this conference entrust the State Committee to advise the various sections to assist by all possible means the plan known as the State Auxiliary or Ten-Cent Plan; and

WHEREAS, In the opinion of this conference the support thus far rendered Organizer Malloney has not been of a character and nature sufficiently vigorous to merit the approval, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this conference hereby instructs the State Committee to forthwith vigorously and systematically push forward the work of political organization through Organizer Malloney, to the end that a strong political movement be properly organized; and

WHEREAS, The necessity for sustaining and endorsing such Socialist publications and papers as uphold at all times without fear, equivocation or compromise the revolutionary principles and tactics necessitated by a clear understanding of the class struggle, was never more vitally important than at present, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That this conference endorse only such Party papers as have fearlessly and uncompromisingly supported the Party in suppressing the reactionary and corruptionist element; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the conference recommend to the various sections to support the following (Continued on Page 2.)

S. T. & L. A.

An Interesting Convention Report.

From the Pittsburg, Pa., District—Valuable Items of Information for All Speakers Especially.

Mr. Chairman and Comrades:—It is with feelings of the greatest of pleasure that I take this opportunity of expressing to you in the name of the comrades of the District of Western Pennsylvania in general, and Pittsburg in particular, their good wishes and greetings to the comrades from all over the country.

I have heard it stated that there had been more effort and money spent in trying to perfect a Socialist organization in Pittsburg than in any other part of the Union.

I will not stop to question this statement, but I wish to show that if it is true, the results amply repay the outlays which may have been made in the past.

The Socialist movement in Pittsburg is in excellent shape. The comrades there are almost to a man, staunch, true, clear and class-conscious; it could hardly be otherwise, for they have had those good attributes almost fairly hammered into them.

The preparatory work has been done, and faithfully done, by the Germans of our region. They stuck to it through thick and thin, through rise and fall, and now those faithful teachers at last see the result of their efforts. That which they have so earnestly and persistently striven for all these years is being realized. The English-speaking element is coming to the front and the German comrades of Western Pennsylvania, instead of being disgruntled and disappointed at their coming and trying to stop the inevitable, are overjoyed at their advent, and spurred on by the zeal and younger energy of the newcomers, are working with them harder and more earnestly than before.

Thus it was that when comrade Hickey arrived in Pittsburg in August, 1898, he found it comparatively easy to organize three Locals of the S. T. & L. A., two mixed Locals, now known as Locals 189 and 190, and one machinists, known as Local 190.

These Locals, in conjunction with about nine others, form District 15.

Pittsburg always and still does suffer from a lack of speaking talent. If this were not the cause I would undoubtedly be able to make a far better report than I do. Nevertheless we were steadily increasing, and when the opportunity came, with it came a speaker. Not a speaker from Heaven, but from slow old Philadelphia. This speaker did not make union-made cigars, like some Philadelphia speakers, for he didn't use tobacco at all, nor was he always typographically perfect like other Philadelphia speakers; no, he was only a natural born speaker, who spoke Socialism that came from the heart, and who, having been deprived of the advantage of much education by this accursed capitalist system, was not a speaker at all in the opinion of the tobacco and whiskey combination.

The Schoen strike broke out, and with it came Schulberg's chance to do his duty. The Schoen Co. at that time held in bondage about 3,800 wage slaves, three of whom were Socialists, the two Foster brothers and comrade Stamper.

The strike started with eighty men in one department. They asked for a speaker. Schulberg and myself were sent for. We found them disorganized and disordered. Those of one religion distrusted all others, and those of one nationality distrusted all others, in the mean time calling each other vulgar names, spies and traitors. But lo, what a sudden change! Two hours of speaking Socialism, and this was all altered. They cheered each other, and shook each other by the hand and vowed eternal friendship.

The strike spread from one department to another. Finally all the men were out. In the mean time we conducted all their meetings and instructed them in the science of Socialism. The men took hold of it, and the teachings spread like wildfire.

During this time the Capitalist class was not idle either. At first their papers ignored us, but as that plan failed they lied about us, abused, slandered and vilified us. The preachers delivered sermons on "the evils of Socialism."

The company sent spies to the meetings, rowdies, backed by the police; attempts to start a riot were frequent.

They captured one of the active workers, Gallagher by name, and kept him imprisoned in an engine-house for a week.

They kidnapped Schulberg right off the street, and sent him to the workhouse. We then sent for Brower from New York.

They paid off the men on Friday in place of Saturday, so that they would have lots of time to get drunk; we told the men not to drink, but to take their money home to their families; the men heeded our advice, with the result that for the first time in the history of Schoen's pay days there was not a single arrest. They broke up a meeting, and arrested seventy-one men. We hired the best lawyer in Pittsburg, and the men were set free.

They tried to break our Socialist hold on the men by holding opposition meetings addressed by labor fakirs, parsons and so-called respectable citizens, but all to no purpose.

We had taught the men so well, had shown them the futility of pure and simple unions as a remedy so thoroughly that when we allowed two of Pittsburg's biggest fakirs, Thomas Grundy and Cal Wyatt, to address one of our meetings, and then took a vote as to whether they would stay with the S. T. & L. A. or drop it, the vote was unanimous in our favor.

Eleven days had passed. Parsons, preachers and politicians, newspapers, so-called respectable citizens and labor fakirs—all failed to disrupt us, and Schoen Pressed Steel Co. stock had dropped almost six points in the stock market, when the firm capitulated. The results gained for the men was a general rise of about fifteen per cent. in wages, and the adoption of the following rules:

Abolishment of work on the Sabbath day.

A new check system and the privilege of stopping work until the bodies of fellow wage-slaves who were injured or killed were carried from the department.

The result of the action of the Socialists in the Schoen strike has been of national benefit to the movement.

In Pittsburg it has enabled us to raise monthly almost the entire sum needed to put an organizer into the field.

Much to the chagrin of some of the pure and simple kangaroos, we picked out Schulberg, and the results have been very satisfactory.

We have opened the eyes of the working class of Western Pennsylvania in particular, and as a result the efforts of the labor fakirs to replace the loss caused to them by the fast dwindling dues, by holding Labor Day picnics and farce comedies at a Pittsburg theatre with Golden Rule Jones, Cold Lead Miles and other labor-befuddling frauds like Powderly and Gompers as speakers, proved flat failures, and there never was a more necessary and opportune time for the S. T. & L. A., founded, as it is, on the rock of the class struggle to take hold and emancipate the wage slaves than just now.

We are enjoying, as the capitalists call it, a period of prosperity. This prosperity, as it is called, consists in what? In working longer hours for shorter pay than ever before.

And what are we so busy about? Mainly in building machinery for export purposes.

The capitalist class has seen the foolishness of going to the expense of importing immigrants to work at domestic machinery, and is therefore now exporting the machinery to the immigrants instead. The result will be that when enough machinery has been built for the purpose we will stop building machinery, and the eight cents per day labor of the Oriental inhabitant will replace that of all other higher-priced workmen. An example: We are to-day importing the Stars and Stripes from Japan, and selling them six for five cents. They are American flags, made in Japan, by Japanese workers on American machines. These same flags made in America by American workmen, on American machines, cannot be sold at less than five cents each without an absolute loss. This will be the result in all industries, and then will come the crash.

Socialism is the only remedy, and it is our noble duty to enlighten the workers, and insist that they join the organization which must and will turn the ever improving machinery of production and distribution into a blessing instead of, as it is now, a curse to the human race.

I have purposely avoided saying anything about the coal miners and their conditions, leaving my fellow-delegate, comrade Thomas, of Buena Vista, who is himself a coal miner, to explain to you the absolute necessity of immediately organizing them into an S. T. & L. A.

WILLIAM J. EBERLE.

The English translation of Karl Marx's "Eighteenth Brumaire" that some time ago ran through THE PEOPLE, is now to be had bound in an elegant volume of 78 pages, with Marx's picture as frontispiece. No Socialist even though he be no student, and no student, even though he be no Socialist, can afford to be without it. Apply, Labor News Co., 147 E. 23rd st., N. Y. City. Price, 25 cents.

QUEENS COUNTY NOTICE—Primaries of the Socialist Labor Party of Queens County are hereby called to meet on Monday, October 1st, 1899, at 7 o'clock P. M., for the Election of the County Convention, to the second Assembly District Convention, and to the second Aldermanic District Convention at the following places: 3d Ward at Turn Hall, College Point; 4th Ward at Tagland's Hall, Woodhaven. Each Ward is entitled to representation by delegates in each said Conventions.

The County Convention, the 3d Assembly District Convention and the 3d Aldermanic District Convention meet at Tagland's Hall, Woodhaven, on October 1st, 1899, at 9 o'clock P. M.

CHRISTIAN BAKKE, Secretary Queens County Committee S. L. P.

MOVING

Against the Trolley Trusts.

The S. T. & L. A.'s Campaign Against The Brooklyn Rapid Transit Co. and The Union Traction Co. of Philadelphia

IN BROOKLYN.

The powerful Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company has been compelled to recognize the seriousness of the campaign inaugurated against it by the S. T. & L. A. for the testing of the Ten Hour Law.

A few days before the 19th of September the Brooklyn trolley men were surprised by the following announcement, published in the Rapid Transit Company's newspaper mouthpieces:

President Rossiter, finding that it was impossible for the men to make five trips from New York to Coney Island in a day of ten hours, has made the day's work consist only of four trips. It was seen that most of the accidents occurring recently were due to the great speed necessary in order to accomplish the required five trips, so on this account, as well as for the benefit of the men, the required work has been reduced one-fifth.

The pretense of solicitude for the safety of the public and the well-being of the employees is too transparent to deceive anybody. If Rossiter had really been solicitous about the public or "his" men, he would not have waited with his reform until the Coney Island season was almost at an end, that is, until he had overworked his men and massacred the dear public as long as he had a chance of doing so during this season.

What the trolley magnate was solicitous about is explained by the nearness of the 19th of September. On that day the criminal prosecution for the violation of the Ten Hour Law was to come on before Judge Brenner.

Mr. Rossiter's sudden desire to appear as a protector of the public's limbs and as a father to the trolleyworkers was evidently due to the necessity of preparing a defence against the pending criminal action. It must have become plain to the Trolley Trust that this attack is not a sham affair as all previous attempts at or threats of testing the law have been. There is need of a defence.

The trolley trust has heretofore taken the position that in arranging its time tables it had intended to comply with the Ten Hour Law, that these time tables were practically consented to by the employees, since none of them made any formal complaint; that, if in some cases the men would not do their work in ten hours, the company had no official knowledge of the fact, and at any rate there was no more labor required of the men than they were willing to give.

This position cannot be maintained, after a formal complaint has been lodged with the criminal authorities.

But the Rapid Transit Company is apparently preparing to make the defence that it changed its schedule as soon as the impossibility of making the scheduled trips within the legal hours was brought to its notice and could be verified by investigation, and that it was so changed before the charge came up in court.

That explains why five days before the 19th of September the schedule of the Coney Island lines—the very lines to which the pending prosecution refers—was changed from five to four trips.

It will be interesting to watch the effect of the defence thus manufactured when the case comes to trial.

The company waived examination, when the case was called before Judge Brenner on September 19th, and thus avoided the necessity of revealing any part of its line of defence. The company was held for trial at the Special Sessions, where the case will be called for pleading in about two weeks.

IN PHILADELPHIA.

Simultaneously with the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company the Trolley Trust of Philadelphia—the Union Traction Company—felt the necessity of defending itself against the activity of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. After having been carried on quietly for some time, the work of organizing the Philadelphia trolley workers was brought to public notice through a circular issued last week by the Street Railway Workers' Alliance, a recently chartered L. A. of the S. T. & L. A. The movement has assumed such proportions as to force the Philadelphia press to give it considerable attention. Some of the papers print the circular in full, notwithstanding the outspoken manner in which it expresses the revolutionary position of the S. T. & L. A. The following heading and introductory sentences of a lengthy article in the "Evening Bulletin" show how the movement is regarded by the Philadelphia press:

HIGHER WAGES IS THEIR CRY. Demands of the Street Railway Workers' Alliance of Philadelphia—The New Organization of Union Traction Employees—Keefe, of New York Pilot.

A movement that is intended to obtain higher wages and shorter hours of work for street railway employees is actively being agitated in this city. The discontent that has been brewing in various labor circles in different parts of the country is to find an outlet in Philadelphia if the plans of the leaders are not forestalled.

The dispatches sent out by the press agencies suppress the fact that the movement is under the auspices of the S. T. & L. A., and contain an altogether misleading account of it. Even the names are garbled; Comrade Keefe, for instance, is called a "national promoter for the National Labor Alliance." To correct these false reports and give our comrades an accurate idea of the character of the movement, the circular will be reproduced in next week's issue.

THE PEOPLE.

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— EVERY SUNDAY. —

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential).....2,068
In 1890.....13,331
In 1892 (Presidential).....21,157
In 1894.....33,133
In 1896 (Presidential).....36,564
In 1898.....82,204

No revolutionary political organization
will inspire the outside masses with respect
that will not insist upon and enforce dis-
cipline within its own ranks. If we allow
our own members to play monkeyshines
with the Socialist Labor Party, the lookers-
on, who belong in our camp, will justly
believe that we will at some critical mo-
ment allow capitalism to play monkeyshines
with us; they will not respect us, and their
accession to our ranks will be delayed.

"REFORM OR REVOLUTION."

TURNING THE CYCLE.

It is out of feudalism that capitalism
rose. Every step onward was at first
a step away from feudalism. The con-
clusion would seem to be forced that, as
society moves still further onward, it
moves still further away from feudalism,
still further from where it started.
Rash conclusion. Beyond a point, if
real onward, real progressive steps are
not made, society turns back to where
it started from.

Capitalist society in America has
reached the point that marks the period
where, if the onward march towards
Socialism is not taken, a retrograde
march back to feudalism must set in.
Of this fact, and of the fact that the
retrograde march has commenced there
are not a few instances. The latest is
recorded in Oklahoma Territory, near
the town of Bliss.

From Bliss, O. T., comes the news
that the critics of Markham, the poet
of the "Man with the Hoe," who snort
at the thought of a free-born American
being classed as brother to the ox,
should pay a visit to the 7,000 acre farm
of the 101 live-stock company there.
The man with the hoe has actually
usurped the specially ordained work of
the ox, the most remarkable fact known
to the agricultural fraternity being on
view in that locality in the shape of
HUMAN TEAMS pulling the plows.
When the team of men are ready to
start, the driver, in lieu of a whip, holds
over his team a loaded revolver, not
for the purpose of hastening operations
by making targets of the men, but to
use as a signal so that the human horses
can have a fair start.

Here surely there seems to be a reason
for Edwin Markham's startling
queries: "Are we shaping a new feuda-
lism—an industrial feudalism—which
will press the life out of the worker
and be dead to all thought if his social
well being?"

The men are usually tramps who
have been drummed into the service of
the livestock company by a liberal pay-
ment. When the pistol has cracked
and the team has the plow fairly under
way, the tramps rise from the crawling
attitude of the start and pull the plow,
walking in the natural position. With
so many of them in a team the work
is divided into a very small amount
of exertion for each man, and "Weary
Waggies" and "Footsore Willies" have
comparatively an easier time of it.

Superintendent J. C. Miller says that
only at certain periods of the year does
it pay to have the tramp team at work,
for while there are horses available the
latter are naturally preferred. When
the farmers are all working early and
late and all the cattle are busy in the
fields the horse becomes a scarce article
on these big farms, and the Oklahoma
agriculturist has to find some substitute.
The farmers of the territory are taking
up the idea, and the supply of tramps is
getting as scarce as the supply of horses.

Mr. Miller claims he can do the plow-
ing with a team of tramps at just half
the amount it would cost him to hire
horses when the latter are badly
wanted and are being held for the high-
est price. In Oklahoma the ranches are
so large that no one man owns enough
horses to do his work in the busy sea-
son.

It is not probable that the dignity of
the genus tramp would suffer men to
work in this lowly manner on farms
where the natives could gather around
and criticize. But here, where the ranch
owner and his hands are the only per-
sons encountered in a day's walk, the
broken down gentleman and the
mechanic who is walking for a job sub-
mits to being harnessed like cattle to a

plow without the fact being bruited
abroad over the land to the injury of
their reputation. While at work the
tramps are at least sure of a square
meal, for the ranch owner is hospi-
tality personified, and the appetite that
is cultivated by dragging a plow through
the field is liberally satisfied with good,
wholesome fare. The sleeping provision
made for the tramps is far better
than that to which they are accus-
tomed, so that the wanderer who is
enlisted as a helper on the ranch in
place of the costly horses finds that
he has fallen in for a comfortable job
at good money.

Are we not under a full head of steam
towards feudalism?

Bernard O'Toole will lecture Friday,
the 29th, at 340 W. 53d street (W. S.
Educational Club).

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

Instinct is a great thing. It is well
developed in the capitalist press. At-
tention was called about two months
ago to the enthusiasm and unanimity
with which the press of this city sided
with the tax-payer element that sought
to kill the Socialist Labor Party here.
A similar experience was made last
week in Worcester, Mass. The capital-
ist press of that city teemed, during and
before the convention with articles de-
noting their full sympathy with the
same element there. This came out
strongest while the convention of the
Party was in session. It did not suit
the gentlemen at all to see the firmness
with which the Party held the helm of
its ship; it did not suit them a bit
to see their pets the Kangaroos downed.
In its anger the capitalist press of
Worcester tried to throw ridicule upon
some of the Party's delegates on the
ground of their workingmen's appear-
ance. Certain it is that any capitalist
paper would pay \$100 a head for such
a set of honest-looking and honorable
workingmen in their conventions. The
only workingmen the capitalists can
gather in their conventions bear on
their faces the stamp of the scab.

"Success" is the name of a publication
that certainly makes a success of mak-
ing its points clear. Its Labor Day issue
contains on its page 659 a full picture
of General Miles—the hero of the Pull-
man strike—surrounded with an article
on "Labor Organizations in the United
States," in which the brotherhood of
Capital and Labor is shown to be a
fact, and, in order to prove the point,
the General's hand rests on a Gatling
gun, no doubt to illustrate how that
"Brotherhood" is enforced.

So far the point would seem clear
enough. But "Success" evidently did
not think so. In order to clinch the
point it prints on its page 660, just back
of Miles' picture, another picture—
Whose? Just back of Miles' article.
About whom?

The picture just back of General
Miles, in full regimental and hand on
gun is Mr. Samuel Gompers.

The article just back of the one that
figures as a setting for General Miles
is about Mr. Samuel Gompers.

How well both pictures and articles
supplement each other.

Gompers marshals the workingmen
before the armed powers of the Nation
to be shot down, and Miles does the
shooting. And the thing is done to the
tune of "Capital and Labor are Brothers,"
sung in sweet harmony by both
gentlemen.

Who can doubt, after this, that at
least these two have interests in com-
mon?

The Dublin, Ireland, "Workers' Re-
public" thus explains the cry of "Law"
and "Order" that the oppressors always
have upon their lips:

Every movement for the improvement of the
condition of the human race, every step for-
ward in civilization, has of necessity had to
face the opposition of Law, and disturbed the
stability of Order. The pioneer of progress
has been an enemy of Law, and directed
all his efforts to the destruction of Order.
The reason is obvious. The human race in
its progress upward from savagery has had,
at each upward move, to meet the opposition
of the class who, thriving upon the misery
of their fellows, found their security in the
maintenance of the status quo and its at-
tendant evils. This class coming together for
mutual support imposed upon their weaker,
or less cunning fellows, certain rules and ob-
servances calculated to weaken the power of
the multitude and augment the privileges of
the few. These rules and observances were
called the Law.

There is no real law except the self-imposed by majority rule.

The S. L. P. is safe. A few weeks ago
we thought that the most serious ac-
cident had happened to the Party. From
an article in the Cleveland O., "Citizen"
it appeared that Debs had endorsed the
Party. A greater calamity the worst
enemies of the Party could hardly wish
to it. But fortunately we had not to
stop to consider. We had overlooked the
fact that for unreliableness of infor-
mation the Bandlow-Hayes paper is dis-
tinguished, and capable of the worst
sort of "pure and simple" fraud on its
readers. Had we stopped to consider
that, we never would have gone through
the pangs we did. We now feel easy.
The Milwaukee, Wis., "Wahrheit" has
upon the subject an item the substance of
which we hasten to communicate to our
readers.

It is to the effect that the extensively
carried-about yarn Eugene V. Debs had
recommended the S. A. P. in an article
to the Cleveland "Citizen" is "not only
not true, but is a hellish lie. Such an
article appeared, true enough, in the
"Cleveland Citizen," but AS DEBS AS-
SERTS IT WAS FALSIFIED." In short,
Debs did not endorse the S. L. P.
Now let's all breathe freely, and never
forget that the Cleveland "Citizen" is
quite capable of falsification not of news
only, but of matter sent to it for publi-
cation.

CONSERVATISM.

The below is a synopsis of an address
delivered by Lucien Sanial on March 5,
1899, at a public meeting of the then
American Branch, of the old Section
New York, S. L. P. The subject has
singular application now, over nine
years later; moreover its manner of
treatment will preserve for it perma-
nent freshness:

"Is conservatism coming to an end in
the labor movement?"
Can any one here answer this ques-
tion? If so I shall instantly give him
the floor.

Surely I came not to answer it myself,
but to hear it answered by as many as
might be present here to-night. It is
really a question that every one con-
nected in some way with the labor
movement must answer for himself, in
so far as he is personally concerned and
no farther. He must ask himself, 1.—
Am I a conservative? 2.—Is my con-
servatism coming to an end?

Even put in this form, the question
will in most cases prove by no means as
easy of solution as may appear a priori.
Did you ever ask yourselves what this
word "Conservatism," truly signifies?
If not, I may help you somewhat, but
that is all I can do for you.

Surely you know that the law of na-
ture is motion and change—change of
place, change of form. Conservatism is
simply resistance to that law.

Things that offer the highest degree of
resistance to motion and change in the
physical world are rocks, stones, petrifi-
cations of some sort, in which life is
not perceptible, and which are to the
least possible extent capable of mixing
or associating with other physical sub-
stances. And, likewise, in the moral
and intellectual world conservatism
involves hardness of the heart and of
the mind—individualism with a ven-
geance and with the least possible in-
dividuality. A conservative is a stone;
the more stone-like the harder his con-
servatism.

Now, of all beings in animated Nature
it would seem that man is now so con-
structed as to be the least conservative.
If the Darwinian theory be true—if it be
true that all things have a common
origin and differ only by reason of their
path and degree of evolution, man, as
the highest evolved of all, must, physi-
cally and intellectually, possess the
highest power of motion and of change;
he must be the least conservative—the
most adverse, in fact, to conservatism.
Not only does he evolve as an individ-
ual, but he moves and modifies every-
thing around him by his own motion.
He evolves nutritious plants from
weeds, dogs and horses and chickens
and other very tame animals from very
wild ones, etc. It is really by moving
and changing that he conserves him-
self; for, if he abstained for any length
of time from moving and changing
everything about himself, his very sur-
roundings would of themselves move
and change in a direction disastrous to
him.

And right here we see that conserva-
tism, so-called, conserves actually
nothing, but rather acts the part of a
destroyer. It mummifies, petrifies and
not infrequently petrified what would
otherwise have evolved into a higher
form of life.

But some may object: Truth must be
conserved. Nonsense! Truth is a live
and life-giving thing, which has in it-
self the power of conserving itself. But,
turn it over to conservatism, and con-
servatism, like the head of Medusa, will
turn it into a stone. See the truth, men,
but never lay your hands upon it.

Now, if you accept my definition of
conservatism, little remains for me to
say that will enable you to determine
for yourselves whether you should or
should not be conservatives. The ques-
tion of importance, however, is not so
much what you should be as what you
are, and it is this question, as I have
already observed, that I wish you to
answer.

But you may not be able to answer it
without knowing what a conservative
looks like. No man can know his own
looks until he has seen his own image
reflected in a mirror, or in pure water,
or in the eyes of some fellow man.
Even then he may doubt the accuracy
of the mirror, or the purity of the water,
or the honesty of the human eye, if
his image does not suit his notion of
beauty.

Besides, all conservatives are not
alike, because their respective conserva-
tisms, though born of the same mother
—which I believe is Ignorance—are not
begotten of the same father. But in all
you will find a common feature—a most
striking family resemblance. Shall I
say what?—Hypocrisy.

This may, in your opinion, be rather
severe on the conservatives. Well, I
intend to be severe, and by no means
at the expense of truth.

From the most stupid to the most
cunning of them, from the poorest to
the wealthiest, a sordid selfishness lies
at the root of their conservatism, and
none resists progress but is impelled by
personal considerations of the meanest
order.

Among the wealthy, the great, the
powerful, this is comprehensible. Of the
conservatives of this class I have nothing
to say. By craft and by force they
defend their wealth, their greatness,
their power. But among the poor, the
lowly, the helpless, such opposition to
social changes which cannot by any
possibility make them more miserable,
is inconceivable. And in reality if we
look below the surface, if in some way
we can strike the responsive chord in
the hearts of the masses, we soon find
that there is no conservatism there. But
there is apathy, born of ignorance and
helplessness. And it is this apathy that
the designing leaders of those masses
mistake for conservatism. And it is
those designing leaders—who them-
selves care not a jot for either con-
servatism or progress—that I brand as
conservatives, with all the odium of
hypocrisy that the term implies, ac-
cording to my definition of it.

I trust you will now perceive what I
really mean. I say, most emphatically,
that there is no conservatism in the
large body of Labor; but I do not say
that there is progress. There is igno-
rance, helplessness, apathy and no move-
ment; yet there is a natural readiness
to move, a dormant power of motion
which can at any time be developed into
a tremendous irresistible force, and
will be so developed as soon as the con-
sciousness of that power shall have been
infused into the mass. For its present
torpor, those who call themselves its

conservative leaders—and those alone
—are responsible.

In those men the "Labor Movement"
has for years been personified. While
some of them know that there can be
no such movement but in the direction
of socialism, they denounce on every
occasion its teachers and its principles,
and they prolong the apathy of the mass
by withholding from it the truth which,
once seen, would put an end to its
wretchedness and slavery.

The S. L. P.

In the Position it Takes on Taxation.

The position taken by the Socialist
Labor Party of the United States on
the subject of taxation is the only one
absolutely consistent with all the ob-
served facts and tendencies of Capitalism
at its present stage of development
in this country. It is an impregnable
position; and from the solid base which
it affords for well defined, clear-cut
Socialistic tactics on the political battle-
field the Party can safely advance
against the Republican plutocracy with-
out any fear of Democratic middle-class
ambushes or flank movements of a bo-
gus reform character.

In substance the premises and conclu-
sions of the Party, as they appear from
its official declarations, supplemented
by the utterances of its official organs,
candidates and authorized mouthpieces
generally, may be briefly stated as fol-
lows:

In the course of capitalistic evolution
the American government has necessari-
ly become an agency of the Plutocratic
Class, having for its almost exclusive
object to maintain and extend the eco-
nomic dominion of that class. Its
sphere of action, its domestic and for-
eign policy, and therefore also its mode
of raising the necessary revenue, must
in every respect conform with the in-
terests of the American Plutocracy.

Now this plutocracy is by far the
largest employer of wage labor. It owns
all the great manufacturing industries,
the mines, the railroads, the ships, the
telegraphs, the banks and the vast en-
tegrity of wholesale commerce; to which
may be added the municipal services
performed by privileged corporations.

It has practically freed from taxation
all its mercantile interests by casting
the State and municipal burdens upon
real estate and providing for the nation-
al revenue, in part with a high tariff
that gives it a monopoly of the home
market, and in part with internal taxes
chiefly borne by the middle class.

What it now needs is cheaper labor—
constantly cheaper—in order to extend
its supremacy abroad and thus dispose
of the vast surplus product for which it
can find no domestic outlet. This it
cannot get by any mode of taxation.
Even if the taxing of necessities could
result in reducing the purchasing power
of wages, and thus, making the work-
ingman pay a part of the cost of pluto-
cratic government, little would be
gained because it would render more
difficult their reduction in money. It
is, in fact, the price of labor, even
more than the standard of living, that
the plutocracy must first reduce in order
to accomplish its object; for it is with
low prices only that it can gain com-
mand of the world's markets. Rather
then, give the working people a "free
breakfast"—free from taxation—if it
can do any good to those who may be
able to pay for it. But, manifestly, this
is of very little importance. The plu-
tocracy must achieve its purpose by the
direct method of placing the worker in
growing competition with his fellow
worker, and all the workers in growing
competition with the constantly im-
proving machinery of production.

To that simple and direct plutocratic
policy the Socialist Labor Party of the
United States opposes this simple and
direct proletarian policy:

Wherever it may get control of the
public powers, it will wield the Power
of Taxation, among others, with relent-
less energy for the benefit of the work-
ing class. Not only will it impose an
income tax as specifically provided in
its national platform, but it will tax all
property of any kind (equally assessed
at its full value), to the full extent re-
quired to carry out its palliative mea-
sures of relief and improvement.—LU-
CIEN SANIAL, "Socialist Almanac,"
Sup. 3.

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bins, Carroll street.

The receipt of a sample copy of THE
PEOPLE is an invitation to subscribe.



Uncle Sam and Brother Jonathan.

Brother Jonathan—It does sometimes
seem to me that these Socialists are un-
reasonable.

Uncle Sam—Inasmuch as to how?

B. J.—They don't seem to realize the
benefits conferred upon society by the
capitalists.
U. S. (sneezing)—Suppose you en-
lighten me on these "benefits."
B. J.—Take any instance at random.
Here is a man, John Jones; he has a
hundred thousand dollars in the bank;
and yonder are a hundred men out of
work. These men will starve unless
they get a job; John Jones won't
starve, you can't starve with a hundred
thousand dollars. John Jones could, if
he wanted, eat up his money. If he
did, he would be having a good time,
but the hundred men would hunger.
Right here steps up the capitalist as
a benefactor—

U. S. (placing his right hand to his
right ear)—A what?

B. J.—A benefactor. The capitalist
steps in as a benefactor of society. In-
stead of lolling comfortably on his
\$100,000, he invests them; he sets up a
factory that employs these one hundred
men out of work. From that moment
on the men cease to starve. Has not
this capitalist done a positive service
to the community?

U. S.—You are quite sure he did?

B. J.—Of course!

U. S.—And you consider him a bene-
factor?

B. J.—Don't you?

U. S.—And you would conclude from
that, that he and the whole capitalist
class should be preserved?

B. J.—Certainly.

U. S.—Because if he and it were
wiped out society would cease to be
benefacted?

B. J.—That's it.

U. S.—Now, let's look at all that a
little closer. In the first place let me
know what you understand by a "bene-
factor."

B. J.—A man who does me a good
service.

U. S.—If such a man is compelled, by
his own interest, to do you that good
service, would he still be a benefactor?

B. J.—Well, I, no; not quite.

U. S.—To entitle a man to the title
of a "benefactor" his act must combine
several qualities. I shall mention 2:

1. It must do good; and
2. It must be done out of his own
free will, undriven by personal interest.

B. J. (rubbing his hands)—That's very
well put. That's exactly. That's just
what I have shown you that the capi-
talist does:

No. 1. His act does good in that he
gives bread to men who would other-
wise starve for want of work.

No. 2. He does so out of his own free
will.

U. S.—We shall, for the present, grant
No. 1. The No. 2 is false.

B. J.—Not much! Why, the capitalist
needn't—

U. S.—Will you oblige me by keeping
your shirt on for 2 minutes and 15 sec-
onds?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—The No. 2, which you claim, is
that the capitalist is not driven by his
own needs to "give work"—

B. J.—Exactly.

U. S.—It is just the reverse. I shall
show you in the shaking of a lamb's tail
that if he didn't, if he allowed the work-
ers to starve, he would have eventually
to starve himself.

B. J.—What?

U. S.—Can a \$100,000 last forever?

B. J.—No.

U. S.—If this capitalist lived on even
as little as \$5,000 a year, how long do
you imagine would his \$100,000 last?

B. J. (winks his eyes as if a candle
light had been suddenly held up before
them)—Twenty years.

U. S.—And after that?

B. J. remains silent and pensive.

U. S.—After that his money would
be all gone and he would have to starve,
or go to work, or steal, eh?

B. J.—Hum!

U. S.—Can you get out of that?

B. J. remains silent and still more
pensive.

U. S.—When your capitalist invests
his money, "gives labor bread" or plays
the "benefactor," he is simply giving
HIMSELF bread and benefiting HIM-
SELF. What he accomplishes by his
investment it to get his yearly \$5,000
out of the sweat of the brows of his
workers and keep his original \$100,000
untouched. When he invests he does
so, accordingly, not to do good to others,
but to do himself the double good of
living grandly without consuming the
amount of his capital and doing so by
fleecing his "benefactorees." Save me
from such "benefactors" and such "ben-
efactions!"

B. J. during this time has been in-
specting closely a distant flock of cloud
against the azure sky.

U. S.—What has become of your "ben-
efactor?"

B. J.—I have been trying to find where
he is.

U. S.—Your search is now difficult
enough; but I propose to make it so dif-
ficult that you couldn't find your bene-
factor were you to look for him with a
Lick telescope.

B. J. gives up the flock of cloud and
turns his eyes to Uncle Sam.

U. S.—I said before that a benefaction
must combine several qualities. For the
moment I granted No. 1, to wit, that it
must be a good act, and knocked No. 2
into a cocked hat. I now propose to
turn to No. 1.

B. J.—What, is that also false?

U.

COR. OF LEWIS ST., NEW YORK

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY —OF THE— UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

PLATFORM.

The Socialist Labor party of the United States, in Convention assembled, re-affirms the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

With the founders of the American republic, we hold that the purpose of government is to secure every citizen in the enjoyment of this right; but in the light of our social conditions we hold, furthermore, that no such right can be exercised under a system of economic inequality, essentially destructive of life, liberty and of happiness.

With the founders of this republic, we hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be owned and controlled by the whole people; but in the light of our industrial development we hold, furthermore, that the true theory of economics is that the machinery of production must likewise belong to the people in common.

To the obvious fact that our despotic system of economics is the direct opposite of our democratic system of politics, can plainly be traced the existence of a privileged class, the corruption of government by that class, the alienation of public property, public franchises and public functions to that class, and the abject dependence of the mightiest of nations upon that class. Again, through the perversion of democracy to the ends of plutocracy, labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessities of life.

Human power and natural forces are thus wasted, that the plutocracy may rule. Ignorance and misery, with all their concomitant evils, are perpetuated that the people may be kept in bondage.

Science and invention are diverted from their humane purpose to the enslavement of women and children.

Against such a system the Socialist Labor party once more enters its protest. Once more it reiterates its fundamental declaration that private property in the natural sources of production and in the instruments of labor is the obvious cause of all economic servitude and political dependence.

The time is fast coming, however, when in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalistic combinations on the other hand, shall have worked out its own downfall.

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of the United States, and upon all other honest citizens, to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor party into a class-conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them by taking possession of the public powers; so that, held together by an indomitable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle, we may put a summary end to that barbarous struggle by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and of all the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder; a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

Resolutions.

With a view to immediate improvement in the condition of labor we present the following demands:

1. Reduction in the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production.
2. The United States to obtain possession of the mines, railroads, canals, telegraphs, telephones and all other means of public transportation and communication; the employees to operate the same co-operatively under control of the Federal Government and to elect their own superior officers, but no employee shall be discharged for political reasons.
3. The municipalities to obtain possession of the local railroads, ferries, water works, gas works, electric plants and all industries requiring municipal franchises; the employees to operate the same co-operatively under control of the municipal administration and to elect their own superior officers, but no employee shall be discharged for political reasons.
4. The public lands to be declared inalienable. Revocation of all land grants to corporations or individuals, the conditions of which have not been complied with.
5. The United States to have the exclusive right to issue money.
6. Congressional legislation providing for the scientific management of forests and waterways, and prohibiting the waste of the natural resources of the country.
7. Inventions to be free to all; the inventors to be remunerated by the nation.
8. Progressive income tax and tax on inheritances; the smaller incomes to be exempt.
9. School education of all children under fourteen years of age to be compulsory, gratuitous and accessible to all by public assistance in meals, clothing, books, etc., where necessary.
10. Repeal of all pauper, tramp, conspiracy and sumpturnary laws. Unabridged right of combination.
11. Prohibition of the employment of children of school age and the employment of female labor in occupations detrimental to health or morality. Abolition of the convict labor contract system.
12. Employment of the unemployed by the public authorities (county, city, state and nation).
13. All wages to be paid in lawful money of the United States. Equalization of woman's wages with those of men where equal service is performed.
14. Laws for the protection of life and limb in all occupations, and an efficient employers' liability law.
15. The people to have the right to propose laws, and to vote upon all measures of importance, according to the referendum principle.
16. Abolition of the veto power of the Executive (national, state and municipal), wherever it exists.
17. Abolition of the United States Senate and all upper legislative chambers.
18. Municipal self-government.
19. Direct vote and secret ballots in all elections. Universal and equal right of suffrage without regard to color, creed or sex. Election days to be legal holidays. The principle of proportional representation to be introduced.
20. All public officers to be subject to recall by their respective constituencies.
21. Uniform civil and criminal law throughout the United States. Administration of justice to be free of charge. Abolition of capital punishment.

KARL MARX,

A Beautiful, Highly Artistic Lithographic Portrait

BLACK AND TINT

(Size, 21x29)

of the great teacher of Socialism has just left the press.

An Ornament for the Home. Suitable for Presents.

This Portrait is the work of one of the foremost litho artists in New York, a member of L. A. 170, S. T. & L. A., who contributed his work gratis for the benefit of the Party, thus enabling us to sell so excellent a picture at the low price of

30 Cents Retail.

Liberal discount to Sections and Dealers.

Published by the NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO., 147 East 23rd St., N. Y. City. Sections should not fail to send for a copy and they will be pushed its sale.

READ THE PEOPLE.

A similar situation to the one which exists in New York is liable to happen at any time in San Francisco, where the "Tago-blatt," a paper published by German members of our Party, is so loose in its tactics as to be practically neutral between the S. L. P. and the Debs Party.

Should the resolution calling for the convention have the necessary majority it would be tantamount to declaring the Party at the mercy of any conspiracy that might be organized against it at any time, whether it be of labor-fake origin, or of capitalist origin, or both. There is no necessity for a convention. The matter has been dealt with by the N. E. C., as it only could be dealt with; to deal with it otherwise would have been to declare its incompetency. The traitors have been expelled from the Party; go into convention with them we cannot, any more than we could go into convention with the element that has been expelled from the Party, and that is now in Debs' pocket edition of a party. The loyal element in the Party needs, no convention—there is nothing to consider at this time; only the conspirators and the sympathizers need one. The argument of the main supporters of the convention, that the legality or illegality of the alleged suspension of officers is in doubt, is obviously a subterfuge, as a reference to our constitution will show: the conspirators themselves admit the illegality.

One of the Sections endorsing the San Francisco resolution is the City Central Committee, Cal., has upon mature deliberation, reconsidered its endorsement. The Section itself from which the proposition emanated—Section San Francisco—has now in good standing with the Party, having since adopting the resolution calling for a convention, through its City Central Committee, on August 21, by a vote of 13 to 11, decided to support the National N. E. C.

COMRADES, VOTE IT DOWN!
Section Seattle, S. L. P.,
JACOB OLCOVICH, Chairman.
JWM. H. WALKER, Secretary.

WISCONSIN.

MILWAUKEE.—An important meeting of Section Milwaukee, S. L. P., will take place Sunday afternoon, October 1st, at 3 o'clock, at Kaiser's Hall on Fourth street, between State and Prairie streets. Every Comrade should attend, as the vote on the proposed convention is to be taken.

RICHARD KOEPEL, Organizer.

DO.ATIONS TO THE PEOPLE.

Previously acknowledged	\$1,293.21
List No. 219, Section Hudson Co., N. J.	
Thomas Jacob	25
Max Fackler	10
Schmid	10
G. Widmayer	15
E. F. Wegener	25
Arthur Neudecker	25
G. P. Herrschaft, Jr.	25
Schroeder	10
H. A. Schrepps	25
Rob. Duncan, Hartford, Conn.	1.00
Sam. Snyder, Paterson, N. J.	2.00
S. Thompson, City	2.00
R. N. S. Waterbury, New Haven	.35
K. N. Field, Pearlville, N. Y.	.50
Albert Swanson, Yonkers, N. Y.	.50
Frank A. Pearson, Yonkers, N. Y.	.50
Erlito Cigar Factory, City	1.00
C. C. A., City	4.30
Total	\$1,313.76

S. T. & L. A. Convention.

The greater part of the work of the convention of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance was devoted to a thorough revision of the constitution. A number of important changes were the result of the deliberations had by the committees on law and on state of the country, and the revision of the constitution. Of the amendments adopted the following are of importance:

NATIONAL TRADE ALLIANCE.
The Institution of National Trade Alliances was created. An N. T. A. may be formed by 5 or more local Alliances of the same trade attached to at least two sister Alliances. No L. A. shall be admitted to a National Trade Alliance, unless it is affiliated with the District Alliance of its district, if such exists. The details of management are to be left to the Local Trade Alliance interested, who may make by-laws subject to the approval of the General Executive Board.
The National Trade Alliance shall be entitled to representation in the national convention by one delegate.

FINANCES.
The regular per capita tax was increased from one cent per month to two cents. The collection of dues stamps shall be issued by the G. E. B. in denominations of 2 cents and 1 cent (for weekly payment) and uniform membership books, issued by the G. E. B., shall be used.
The annual mileage tax was increased from 4 to 5 cents per member. This tax shall be paid during the month of June. The mileage tax receipts shall be proportioned on a basis of an equal ratio to every delegate.

OFFICERS.
The membership of the General Executive Board was reduced from 9 to 7. The G. E. B. shall decide on all appeals, subject to a final appeal to the next convention.
The officers of the D. A. shall be: a District Organizer, a Secretary, a Treasurer, a Sergeant at Arms, an Auditing, a Grievance, and an Organization Committee. Other officers may be elected in the discretion of the D. A.
Local Alliances shall elect an Organizer, a Secretary, a Financial Secretary, a Treasurer, a Sergeant at Arms, an Auditing, a Grievance and an Action Committee, and may elect other officers.

OFFICIAL ORGAN.
Each District Alliance and each L. A. is required to subscribe for one copy of the official organ of the S. T. & L. A. At each L. A. meeting the chairman shall urge members to subscribe. Where the initiation fee is sufficient, the L. A. shall furnish the official organ to each new member for six months.

GENERAL VOTES.
A general vote may be ordered by the G. E. B. on its own motion or upon motion of 3 District Alliances or of 15 L. A.'s belonging to 3 different trades and D. A.'s.
The new constitution shall go into effect, unless a general vote be demanded in accordance with above provision before November 1st.
The revision of the constitution occupied most of the second, third, fourth, and last days of the convention.

On Thursday, the fourth day, the consideration of the constitution was interrupted to hear the report of the Finance Committee, which confirmed the accounts of the Treasurer showing receipts for the year from August 11, 1898, to August 1, 1899, amounting to \$126.48 (including \$21.00 paid August 11, 1898), and expenditures amounting to \$1130.91. The receipts per month, as shown by the Treasurer's books, were as follows:

August, 1898	\$32.50
September, 1898	67.58
October, 1898	37.55
November, 1898	53.90
December, 1898	112.15
January, 1899	25.92
February, 1899	10.10
March, 1899	80.57
April, 1899	148.65
May, 1899	171.56
June, 1899	128.78
July, 1899	191.65

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.
At the Friday session the convention proceeded to the election of officers for the ensuing term.

New York having again been chosen as the seat of the headquarters of the S. T. & L. A., the following comrades were elected:
General Secretary—William L. Brower.
General Treasurer—Patrick Murphy.
Members—Daniel De Leon, Arthur Keep, Ella Reeves Cohen, Hugo Vogt.

NEXT CONVENTION.
Pittsburg was the only city nominated as the place for the next convention, and was unanimously chosen.

JACOB HEALICH & CO.,

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806 6th St., near Avenue A.
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OPEN AIR MEETINGS.—For week ending

October 8, 1899.

Monday, Oct. 2.
15th Assembly District—15th street and Avenue B.
20th Assembly District—26th street and 2d Ave.
4th Assembly District—Monroe and Jackson streets.
Tuesday, Oct. 3.
30th Assembly District—84th street and 1st Ave.
26th Assembly District—74th street and 1st Ave.
28th Assembly District—82d street and 1st Ave.

Wednesday, Oct. 4.
15th Assembly District—7th street and Avenue B.
14th Assembly District—11th street and Avenue B.
10th Assembly District—8th street and 2d Ave.

Thursday, Oct. 5.
17th Assembly District—52d street and 9th Ave.
18th Assembly District—67th street and Amsterdam Ave.
13th Assembly District—36th street and 9th Ave.

Friday, Oct. 6.
Brooklyn, Broadway and Manhattan Ave.
Brooklyn—Myrtle Ave. and Bedford street.

TO BROOKLYN COMRADES.—The lecture season of the American Branch No. 1, S. L. P., Brooklyn, opens on Sunday, Oct. 1, 1899, 8 p. m., at Singler's Hall, 215 West 10th street, 14th and 15th Aves. S. L. Brown on "The Class Struggle."

QUEENS COUNTY NOTICE.—Primaries of the Socialist Labor Party of Queens County are hereby called to meet on Monday, October 2d, 1899, at 7 o'clock P. M., for the election to the County Convention, to the second Assembly District Convention, and to the second Aldermanic District Convention at the following places: 3d Ward at Turn Hall, College Point; 4th Ward at Taglia's Hall, Woodhaven. Each Ward is entitled to representation by 5 delegates in each said Conventions.

The County Convention, the 2d Assembly District Convention and the 2d Aldermanic District Convention meet at Taglia's Hall, Woodhaven, on October 3d, 1899, at 9 o'clock P. M.

CHRISTIAN BAKKE.
Secretary Queens County Committee
S. L. P.

A Primary of the Socialist Labor Party for Long Island City, will be held at Hlin's Hall, 317 Moor St., Sunnyside, Long Island City, Saturday, September 30th, 1899, at 8 p. m., for the purpose of electing delegates to County Convention.

SING SING.—The convention of the S. L. P. for the purpose of nominating an assemblyman in the 2d Assembly District, County Westchester, was held in Sing Sing, September 21. Comrade Stephen Cormack was elected chairman of the convention. Delegates from the towns of Mt. Pleasant, Cortland, and Ossining were present. Comrade C. C. Altona, of Huntington, nominated Comrade Jonathan C. Pierce, of Pleasantville, and the nomination was made unanimous. Short addresses were made by Comrades Cholly and David, of Pleasantville; Rieley Clark and O'Neill, of Sing Sing; and District Organizer Quolot, of Peekskill.

HUBERT H. MEALING, JR.,
Secretary of Convention.

BUFFALO.—On September 16 the S. L. P. held its convention for the Judiciary, the 8th Judicial District (Erie, Chautauque, Cattaraugus, Orleans, Niagara, Genesee, Allegany, and Wyoming counties). The delegates from the several districts unanimously nominated the following Comrades:

For Judges of the Supreme Court—Max Forker, James A. McKenzie, James W. Sharpe.

OHIO.

OPEN-AIR MEETINGS, CLEVELAND, O.—

Week beginning Monday, Oct. 2.
Monday eve, Oct. 2.—Pearl street and Wade Ave.
Tuesday evening, October 3.—Clark Avenue and Swiss street.
East Side.
Wednesday evening, Oct. 4.—Becker Ave., cor. Ellis.
Thursday evening, Oct. 5.—Central Ave. and Greenwood street.
Friday evening, Oct. 6.—Quincy street, cor. of Lincoln Ave.
Saturday evening, Oct. 7.—Public Square.

Section Cleveland per Central Committee:—
FRANK EHRAN, Organizer.
W. F. STREER, Secretary.

PENNSYLVANIA.

PITTSBURG.—Comrade S. Schulberg is just closing a successful agitation tour in the anthracite coal region, where he has been since the 17th of August. This tour has been a success in every respect; it began a short trip in the central coal field starting at Kane, Tuesday 26. As Comrade Schulberg is a good and clear speaker, Sections should, wherever possible, make arrangements for out-door meetings. The tour is as follows:

Kane, Tuesday, September 26.
Du Bois, Wednesday, September 27.
Du Bois, Thursday, September 28.
Stockport, Friday, September 29.
Lancaster, Saturday, September 30.
Hawthorn, Sunday, October 1.
Middletown, Tuesday, October 3.
Brookville, Wednesday, October 4.
Houtsville, Thursday, October 5.
Figard, Friday, October 6.
Patton, Saturday, October 7.
Altoona, Sunday, October 8.
Altoona, Monday, October 9.
South Fork, Tuesday, October 10.
Latrobe, Wednesday, October 11.
Jeannette, Thursday, October 12.
Pittsburg, Friday, October 13.

I. ROMMEL, Secretary.

RHODE ISLAND.

PROVIDENCE.—Regular Socialist class meetings are held at the Pythian Hall, 380 Elmwood Ave., near Potter's, first Monday evening of each month, at 8 p. m. Subject for October 2, "Why I Am a Socialist." Questions asked by anyone from the audience will be allowed. All friends and the public are cordially invited to attend these meetings. Admission free.

WASHINGTON.

SEATTLE.—At a regular meeting of Section Seattle, S. L. P., held September 13, 1899, the following was unanimously adopted, and, upon motion, it was ordered that a copy be sent to each Section in Washington, showing them how Section Seattle stands. It might be added that these reasons are only supplemental to the reasons given by the N. E. C. (See THE PEOPLE of September 10, page 4.)

COMRADES.—There being now before the Party for a referendum vote a proposition, emanating from Section San Francisco, for a national convention of the Party, to be held not later than November 1, 1899, Section Seattle herewith submits its reasons for opposing the proposition:

The resolution states that "it is impractical which faction in New York is the question whether it should demand from the Socialist Co-operative Publishing Association the property of the Party (our national organ, THE PEOPLE, "Workers"), which referendum proposition was also, incidentally, a test vote as to which side was upheld by the Party at large in tactics, the N. E. C. or the element represented by the "Volkszeitung." We believe, on the contrary, that it is material. The present situation in the Party is the result of a conspiracy by the element, represented by the "Volkszeitung," which has endeavored to make the Party to repudiate the attitude adopted by our last national convention toward economic organizations, by an almost unanimous vote, after a discussion lasting two days. In furtherance of this vote, the Party, it adopted an attitude of bourgeois reform on the question of taxation.

When the N. E. C. had submitted to a referendum vote of the Party the question whether it should demand from the Socialist Co-operative Publishing Association the property of the Party (our national organ, THE PEOPLE, "Workers"), which referendum proposition was also, incidentally, a test vote as to which side was upheld by the Party at large in tactics, the N. E. C. or the element represented by the "Volkszeitung." We believe, on the contrary, that it is material. The present situation in the Party is the result of a conspiracy by the element, represented by the "Volkszeitung," which has endeavored to make the Party to repudiate the attitude adopted by our last national convention toward economic organizations, by an almost unanimous vote, after a discussion lasting two days. In furtherance of this vote, the Party, it adopted an attitude of bourgeois reform on the question of taxation.

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OFFICIAL.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 61 Beekman street, N. Y.

NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS (pro tem.)

Thomas Curran, Secretary, 64 Hanover street, Providence, R. I.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA.

A. B. Barter, Secretary, 860 Richmond street, London, Ont.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY.

147 East 23rd street, New York City. (The Party's literary agency.)

NOTICE.—For technical reasons, no party arrangements can go in that are not in "the office by Tuesday, 10 p. m.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Meeting of September 26th, with P. Murphy in the chair. Absent, Flebiger, who is ill and excused. The financial report for week ending September 23rd showed receipts \$23.00; expenditures, \$50.57.

Among the communications read, there was one from the Virginia State Committee advising publication of special leaflet for rural population. Secretary was instructed to confer with the committee about this matter. Illinois State Committee sent word about refractory action on the part of Section Pekin, and also that "Arbejderen Publishing Co." of Chicago refused to recognize the State Committee. Since "Arbejderen" is the Danish Party organ, the secretary was instructed to look into this matter.

Section Adams, Mass. (German), reported that they had recognized the Kangaroo committee. Moved to suspend; carried. Report from Massachusetts also that Kangaroos attending State Convention under Massachusetts election law, bolted the convention when they found themselves in a hopeless minority.

The attention of the sections is here-with called to the Marx picture advertised by the N. Y. Labor News Co., 147 East Twenty-third street, New York City. No section should fail to send for a copy, and they are then sure to take up and push its sale, the picture being one of the best of its kind ever issued.

The following Sections reported their vote on the San Francisco convention resolutions: Phoenix, Ariz.; Rockvale, Pueblo, Leadville, Col.; Bridgeport, Conn.; Richmond, Ind.; Collinsville, Glen Carbon, Moline, Ill.; Paducah, Ky.; Groveland, Somerville, Salem, New Bedford, Everett, Mass.; Oneonta, Peekskill, Yonkers, N. Y.; Columbus, Ohio; Figart, Homestead, Braddock, No. 1, McKeesport, Sutersville, Grove City, Rankin, Pa.; members at large in Massachusetts and Connecticut, casting a total vote of 30 in favor of the San Francisco proposition and 270 against. The grand total now stands: 71 in favor and 451 against.

The vote cast for delegate to S. T. & L. A. convention was 742 in favor of D. De Leon and 1 against.

JOHN J. KINNEALLY,
Recording Secretary.

CONNECTICUT.

ROCKVILLE.—The below is our ticket for the Town election:—
Selectmen—Melvin C. Bronson, Charles C. Zaus.
Town Clerk—Louis Koelsch.
Tax Collector—William Suesbrich.
Agent and Treasurer of Town Deposit Fund, Auditor—Herman Backofen.
Assessors—Gustav Reichenbach, Henry Hitz.

Board of Relief—Hugo Mueller, Martin Falter.
Registrar of Voters—Charles Backofen.
Constables—Emil Suesmann, Emil Kohlhaas, William Kuhl, Ludwig Kogel.
School Visitor—Max Zechner.
Grand Jurors—Hugo A. Mueller, Charles Backofen, Gustave Ralsch.

The election is on October 2. In 1896 we polled 270 votes, or 18 per cent. of the total. Not unlikely we shall this year beat the Democrats.
C. B.

ILLINOIS.

CHICAGO.—Attention! Socialists and wage-workers are invited to attend a public meeting at Fitzgerald's Hall, Halsted Ave. and Adams street, Sunday, October 1, 2:30 p. m. Subject: "Necessity of Organization and What It Implies."

PAUL KRETLOW, Org. Sec. Chicago.

SECTION CHICAGO.—At its regular meeting, Sep. 22, adopted the following resolution: "WHEREAS, Section Chicago has received no answer to the communication addressed Aug. 19th to the Workers' Call Publishing Association, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the "Worker's Call" is in no way connected with Section Chicago, S. L. P."
CHAS. A. BANSTIAN, Sec.

NEW JERSEY.

HUDSON COUNTY.—Socialist Club will open its new headquarters at 548-550 Newark Ave., Jersey City, on Saturday evening, September 23d. All Party members are requested to be present. E. F. WEGENER, Organizer.

SECTION HUDSON COUNTY.—The same will hold the following open-air meetings:

Monday, Oct. 2.—Fulton and Jackson Aves., Jersey City.
Monday, Oct. 2.—Montgomery and Henderson Aves., Jersey City.
Tuesday, Oct. 3.—Pacific and Johnson Aves., Jersey City.

Wednesday, Oct. 4.—Hoboken.
Wednesday, Oct. 4.—Oakland and Jefferson Aves., Jersey City.

Thursday, Oct. 5.—Weehawken.
Friday, Oct. 6.—West Side and Fairmount Aves., Jersey City.

Saturday, Oct. 7.—Harrison.
E. F. WEGENER, Organizer.

PASSAIC COUNTY SECTION.—Held a convention at 324 Straight street, on the 25th of September, and nominated Christopher Jacobson, Jacob H. Schmitters, Ulrich Fruen, and Emil Reuser for members of assembly for the November election.

The people are all complaining of hard times here. Silk is very dull, wages are being reduced, and the present system of making manifest all about us. Two of our silk mills are in the hands of receivers; at a number of mills, when warps are out, the weavers are told to take their tools home with them, as they may need them, before their looms will be ready again, which means—they are discharged.

The workmen will soon vote for the S. L. P. ticket in Paterson.